*

601 /163 cont./

614 Bejkári

615 to

Petároague

denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague

denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague

to

Aúwuewague

Majároague

denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

614

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that

614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of

554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-

[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two

595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of

614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with

615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing

177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.

587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.

611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-

●591 tended patrilineal families.

596

/409 cont./

000 Such a custom is imposed by the desire of the tribe to perpetuate itself.

• 591 614 /410/ The ambilian marriage is not known, that is, it is not the young man who comes to live in the house of the in-laws; but it is the young woman who, through marriage, leaves hers and comes to constitute a family in another tribe.

They desire, then, that a woman from another tribe come to their povoado in order to constitute a new family. The exchange, it seems to us, is not equivalent to a depreciation of the woman or reducing her to the condition of an article of trade. It is a measure of precaution, so that the group will not become extinct, but, on the contrary, the men always remain united, and the tribal traditions and the cordial relations among its components are kept alive.

From this concept and practice some consequences follow:

582 614 [611] [601] 1st. -- The first one is that in fact the so-called preferential marriage is in force among them. The exchanges not only establish social relations between two malocas, but, as we shall see later, they conceive kinship as bilateral. But not only the maternal cousins in the strict sense (that is, the nephews and nieces of the mother herself), but all those of their generation of the maternal Gens (IV -- 2, a (2)) are called brides and bridegrooms /Port. noivos/, Baxsú-kãra (those who are destined for marriage with us).

Let us concretize an example: the Tukano from Parí-cachoeira customarily seek their wives among the Tuyuka of the headwaters of the Tiquié. Then, for the young people of Parí-cachoeira, brides and bridegrooms, or Baxsúkãra, are all the Tuyuka of the younger generation of the maternal povoado. Or, more exactly, all the young persons of the maternal Gens are their brides and bridegrooms, -- because to each povoado ordinarily corresponds a different Gens, -- and among themselves they call each other "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ (Mamí or Axkabí, see VIII -- 1, c).

[601]

As a rule, it is a boy or a girl among the Baxsúkãra who will be the Mã-ra-põ nỹákhõ or the Nõ'mõ nỹakho.

/415 cont./

583 If the girl cannot take any initiative directly, by showing
584 her preferences, she at least enjoys the "right of veto." That is, speaking in thesis: she will not marry someone she does not like. It is true that she will think carefully beforehand, because, rejecting this proposal, perhaps another will not come. And, besides, she will suffer bad treatment from her people, who, according to the compromises of the Põãperi, must give a wife to the other family.

Who knows even whether she will be a victim of malefice, dohasé? Nevertheless, if she absolutely does not want to marry such a youth, two courses are left to her: first, she does not let herself be abducted, and sometimes she flees to another maloca nearby, when she knows that they are coming to fetch her. Or to flee from the young man's house (15).

[115]

15. A Taryana woman, Teodora from Iauareté, informed us that the woman can not say anything. But, if she likes the young man, she lets herself be abducted; in the opposite case she will flee from the maloca of the young man.

4) Stability.

585 The existence of the marriage and its stability are not yet assured. The young woman will give proof of her good will and ability to be the lady of the house.

[591] If they do not live in the regime of a maloca, perhaps later
[606] the young man might build his independent dwelling; for now he will remain in his parents' house, and the mother-in-law orders the girl to prepare the manicuera /fermented manioc-juice/ and the drinks for the nuptial feast.

/423 cont./

562 It is not a matter of inferiority, it seems to us, resulting from her tasks, more constant than those of the men, or, under the political aspect, from not exercising a politico-social authority more in name than in fact, such as, at present, the tuxauaship.

We verified, it is true, a strong feeling of their own inferiority in the minds of the women. I would not know whether it is correct to apply to them an expression so much to the liking of Freudian psychoanalysis, saying that they are dominated by an "inferiority complex."

The obligation to work beside her own mother every day, as soon as she reached the age of reason, while her brothers spent the whole day in idleness and amusements, might have generated in her the envy of this privileged masculine situation.

562 Among peoples of an exaggeratedly racist mentality, as all
• 591 of them are, she must leave her tribe. Who would be able to evaluate this sacrifice? She must live among strangers, whose language she perhaps does not know in the beginning, and maybe never will succeed in mastering. Hearing, because of this defect of hers, gibes and sneers against her tribe, who knows how many times. Frequently episodes of hostility take place between her relatives and those of her husband, and she suffers with the news of these episodes and with the exprobrations.

The feeling of the weakness of the feminine psyche itself is heightened by the knowledge that she is separated from her people, perhaps in an environment of frank hostility to her tribe (since there are no marriages for love, by the choice and arrangement of the ones getting married). Perhaps the bad treatment will be manifestations of the rude character of her husband and of these racial hostilities.

562 All this, well known and experienced by the married women, exaggerates in the feminine soul the concept of her own weakness. The girl who has not yet experienced it witnesses it, hears it, and anxiously awaits a like fate, and her spirit starts weakening and becoming more and more abject.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[168] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* generation mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sibling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Because of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be embarrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awkward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only community exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib exogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers" and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient, or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *paní*, which means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law.

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship. The important relationship is between a woman and her father-in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may refer to one another by the common term, *paní*. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities between their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as "youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively *hwainyó* and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *paní* — an in-law — but the daughter is not. She enters the household as *hwainkó*. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó* is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

606
[591] this group is on the affinal relationship. Because of patrilocal residence it is the daughter-in-law who occupies a special position. She is
[601] *hwainkó* (younger female), a term that receives her with familiarity and some condescension as an in-group member. A daughter-in-law is considered to be at first a replacement for a daughter who has married out, and she lives for a time under the jurisdiction of her mother-in-law, helping her in gardening and in all food preparation. A woman tries to keep her daughter-in-law within her household as long as possible, speaking of her not as her son's wife but as a replacement for her daughter who has been lost to her by marriage. One aspect of the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is stereotyped, and that is the tug of war between a woman's desire to keep her daughter-in-law within her jurisdiction and the desire of the young wife to win autonomy by cultivating her own garden. For the rest, the relationship depends upon the interplay of personalities and upon the circumstance of whether the bride is a foreigner or a brother's daughter or a member of the brother's sib or phratry. When a child has been born and a woman has her own garden, she and her
[601] mother-in-law achieve a relationship of greater equality. Terminology does not change, even though the reference to an elderly woman as *hwainkó* may seem incongruous. The term defines the relationship at its inception.

[867] It is the role of a woman to introduce her daughter-in-law to the
[868] economic routines and to the local customs of the community, a task that would be inappropriate for her husband. Since the Cubeo often marry women who do not even speak their language or dialect the initial period of tutelage is most important, even though the Cubeo do not stress this feature of what is really an apprenticeship.

The relationship with a son-in-law is governed by the circumstance that he normally does not become a member of the community. At best he will be a visitor who joins in the male activities. His relationship with his mother-in-law is one of restraint rather than of formal
[601] avoidance. It is perhaps for this reason that she addresses him as *hwainyó*. His relationship with his father-in-law, on the other hand, borders on intimacy and is predicated upon the equality of men engaged in their common tasks of hunting, fishing, and the conduct of ceremonies. Perhaps it is this equality that governs the use of *panî* or *paniyó* as a reciprocally used term between father-in-law and son-in-law.

607 The other set of affinal relationships recognized by the Cubeo are
601 those involving spouse's siblings, for whom a variety of terms are applied. The general affinal term is *kodjú* or its plural form *hikódju-*

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwānɨtadjɨ*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents — with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

area].) "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

MULTILINGUALISM

[611] Because descent is patrilineal in the North-
[582] west Amazon and residence is normatively and predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his own. Because of exogamy, his mother always
• [591] represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

[484] In addition to these multilingual contacts
[583] in the longhouse, others occur as a result of considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential mar-
[582] riage system. There is a preference, though not an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin,
[593] particularly his mother's brother's daughter, real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the former.

A child is frequently exposed to the other